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**Republic of Rwanda
Rwandese Government in Exile**

**The manifesto of Peace, Reconciliation and
Renewal in Rwanda.**

I. Background

A. Hidden Truth

1. The major part of Rwandese people are victim of the current crisis situation. They are victim of the hegemonic and geostrategic interests which overcloud them. Those interests, interferences and complicating increased drastically their situation.
2. Since the beginning of the war in October 1990, Rwandese people have always called upon the international community and its institutions who are in charge of the international order and right. The international community responded by complicity, slovenliness and dilettantism.
3. From October 1990 to December 1993 many thousands of Rwandese lost their life in circumstances created by that silly war imposed on Rwanda from a neighbouring country, UGANDA, and yet it has signed International Conventions that forbid it to use its territory to make subversive and terrorist actions against the people of another state. Furthermore, one million of innocent civil citizens were living in utter destitution in war fortune camps inside their own country while human rights organisations were watching.
4. After 6th April 1994: The assassination of the President of Republic, and the chief of General military staff, and the assassination of the Prime Minister, transformed Rwanda in a country without leaders.

The result of that situation was a power gap and no authority arose to make decisions to manage and to stop the slaughters expansion International Community Witnessed.

5. Each Rwandese family of any ethnic group has lost at least one of its members.
6. The deadly machinery had already reached its cruising speed when the Government took office on 9/4/1994, and then, the cabinet realised that their sole capacities would not be sufficient to stop the massacres. They called upon the population to restore peace. On 11th April 1994, they requested help to United Nations through the Commander in Chief of UNAMIR forces in Kigali. Instead of strengthening their assistance, U.N. responded by a non-assistance to people in danger. On 21st April 1994, the decision of cutting off UNAMIR staff produced its immediate effect.

7. Furthermore, the UN security council decided an embargo on weapons against the rwandese government. That embargo against the oppressed when the aggressor (invader) was provided in weapons and human resources, had as result the annihilation of the resistance of the national Army which became enable to do what it had done during the four previous years to protect the population. The country fell down into the hands of RPF and for the same reasons which had resulted in fleeing away of one million people from the areas occupied by RPF, rwandese exodus occurred very largely. Nowadays Rwanda counts the highest ratio of refugees ever encountered in human history.

The current situation of rwandese refugees abroad

8. The situation of rwandese refugees is worsening day after day. The assistance in food has been cut off. Many humanitarian organisations have suspended their assistance activities.
9. Although the convention on the rights of children adopted by UN General Assembly on 10th November 1989 (art. 22 and 28) recognizes the rights of education for children and those rights have been reaffirmed in favour of refugee children by the convention of Geneva dated 28th July 1951 (art. 1. par and 2) as well as by the OAU related to problems peculiar to refugees (art. 1, par. 2), the thousands of young rwandese refugees have been without any assistance. No humanitarian organization would like to include education in its programme.
10. The rwandese intellectuals living in refugee camps are denied the rights to employment and consultancy. This seems to result from a common policy which goes until a generalized embargo on visas when employment opportunities are available abroad.
11. One year after the exodus of rwandese refugees, the UNHCR is still denying them refugee status which should allow them to have access to rights which are international recognized.
12. Moreover, a policy of making rwandese refugees guilty is generalised wherever the world. The international opinion established the equation: "rwandese refugee = hutu = killers" and each rwandese refugee is permanently sentenced any guilty and against the presumption of innocence recognised by the international law.

C- The situation inside Rwanda.

13. The situation is summarised in the act of resignation of the Cabinet Director of the Prime Minister of the Government of Kigali: "RPF which controls the ministry cabinets as well as the National Assembly does an ethnic purge, using the army and Abakada militia-men practices

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terrorism against the population, arbitrary arrests, torture and summary executions; blocks the organization of justice and is not ready to start a dialogue and national reconciliation" (declaration dated 12th June 1995).

14. Other facts confirm that situation:
- the recent massacres of Kibeho qualified by present observers as cleaning operations.
 - the overcharged prisons result in suffocation, so that Humanitarian and human rights organisations working in Rwanda are preoccupied by the construction of prisons more than the liberation of prisoners whose proofs of innocence have been provided.

D- The attitude of international community

15. External referees of rwandese crisis have been regularly informed of the potential ethnic polarisation. In a document published by the Rwandese Government in Exile "Rwandese people accuse", proofs have been provided. In other documents "the non-said about massacres in Rwanda" and "the other face of genocide", other indications have been provided. In spite of all those informations, some people opened their eyes only when the massacres of Kibeho occurred. The Rwandese Government in Exile with the whole community of refugees wonder why the international community opens the eyes when the human lives are lost instead of save them.
16. International community has shown its complicity with RPF:
- In providing them an unconditional support until they took power in Rwanda in July 1994.
 - In considering their violations of human rights as normal facts, mistakes made by some uncontrolled elements or retaliation acts when they were executing the ethnic purge policy.
17. Many foreign observers and investigators have been partial when they declared not guilty RPF and the government of Kigali. One example is the experts of the U.N security council who, in their final report, talk about "abundant information on massacres and systematic persecutions of Hutus by RPF army". (par.44). The same experts concluded their report saying that they had been unable to find indications that "the Hutu massacres by RPF soldiers had been systematic." (par.98).
18. It is the same case with the last report on the massacres of Kibeho and the report of Human Rights Watch against which those who know the reality on the field expressed their indignation.



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19. The Rwandese Government in exile and the whole community of Rwandese refugees are amazed by the fact that international community cannot initiate the promotion of dialogue between the government of Kigali and their representatives, and that institution with which they are in exile are deliberately ignored and never consulted.
- IV. The Manifesto of the Rwandese Government in Exile.
20. With the sad reality that responsibility in the Rwandese catastrophe is shared, the Rwandese Government in exile launches "The Manifesto of peace, Reconciliation and Renewal in Rwanda.
21. The main principles and steps of this manifesto are:
- The Mobilization for peace and reconciliation among Rwandese.
 - Repatriation of all Rwandese refugees
 - Strengthening of democratic and republic institutions.
 - National reconstruction.
 - Mobilisation for peace and Reconciliation among Rwandese.
22. Since its restructuration on 1st November 1994, the Rwandese Government in Exile has among others objectives "the mobilization of refugees for a revolution of mentalities in order to create a new society which stresses tolerance and cohabitation".
23. Three ministries among the seven which compose the Rwandese Government in Exile are in charge of that mandate: the ministry for mobilisation and youth, the ministry for social affairs and refugees and the ministry of information.
24. A governmental plan of action has been mobilised on the civilian population and the military to "condemn to hell" all forms of ethnic hostilities and revenge and build the willingness to live together.
25. With that mobilisation, the problems of disorder and insecurity in camps which were the result of the lack of tolerance and ethnic exaltation, which had required international police have been solved. And in general, rwandese refugees have understood that no peace can be obtained by fighting, and that tolerance and peaceful cohabitation are a necessity for national reconciliation.
26. Strengthened by that experience, Rwandese Government in Exile urgently calls upon the government of Kigali and international community to subscribe immediately for mobilisation obligation for tolerance and cohabitation.

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27. As a frame to define conditions of mobilisation, Rwandese Government in exile requests:
 - a commission of truth about what happened in Rwanda since 1990;
 - The organization of an international conference about Rwanda with fair and equal representation of Rwandese staying in Rwanda, the Rwandese community of refugees who are outside and the International community.
28. The commission of truth about what happened in Rwanda could allow Rwandese people and international community to know the truth about the problems that they have to resolve and to avoid wasting time looking for wrong solutions to problems uncorrectly settled.
The commission on truth could be very usefull for the international tribunal for Rwanda, which cannot play its role of bringing back peace and reconciliation in Rwanda, trying to handle the events in order to find the scapegoats.
29. As we didn't stop expressing it, the Rwandese Government in Exile considers the organisation of an international conference on Rwanda as a frame of appropriated dialogue which could bring up the mechanisms which could allow the execution of peace programme and national reconciliation. The participation of international community is dictated by the fact that the war in Rwanda was not a Rwando-Rwandese war. Many states in this war implicate international community on different level.
- B. The repatriation of all Rwandese refugees.
30. Peace, reconciliation and reconstruction of the country are only possible under condition that all refugees will be rapatriated.
31. In order to achieve a volunteer and pacific repatriation, it is necessary for refugees to get guarranties on individual and collective security and once back home in their motherland, to be able to exercise freely their civil and political rights.

On individual and collective security.

32. Individual and collective security supposes guarranty according which the military and the militia-men who are terrorising the population inside Rwanda have to be separated from it and placed under a transparent and efficient system of controll.

Strengthened and made aware of its responsibilities, the UNAMIR could be requested to achieve that mandat, or some countries enough neutral in Rwandese conflit could be approached for carrying out that mission.

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33. Even more, refugees have to feel themselves represented on different level of decision and in armed forces. The Arusha Peace Agreement, which up to now is supposed to be the Fundamental Law of Rwandese Republic, could be accepted as valid basis of discussion.
34. Regarding this representation on the different levels of decision and in the armed forces, it is imperative to avoid the error which has complicated the application of Arusha Peace Agreement, that is the interference of one of the parties in the choice of the representatives of the other party.
Thus, it is important to clarify now, which are the two parties concerned. At one side there is the Kigali Government with the population inside Rwanda, and at another side there is the Rwandese Government in exile with all the Rwandese population which is refugee outside. Each side has to choose with full sovereignty its representatives.

On civil and Political rights

35. Actual Rwandese refugees have their belongs in Rwanda which have been taken by other persons. Their right to their properties is unquestionable and consequently, their properties have to be released without conditions. Former refugees who went back home in Rwanda have to be assisted according to the Arusha peace Agreement.
36. Many people have been put in jail illegally and arbitrarily. All people who have not been found guilty by a tribunal well constituted and recognised by law have to be released without condition. The other have to be able to use the right of appeal.
37. The return of the refugees has to be accompanied with clear guaranties regarding their rights to choose their leaders. Consequently, the time for free and democratic elections has to be determined and cannot overpass the one defined by Arusha Peace Agreement.
38. The strengthening of Republican Institutions remains a sure guaranty for citizens to enjoy their civils and political rights.
The institutional crisis is a cause of the sinking of the war in Rwanda. To get institutions working well again in Rwanda on all levels and their strengthening constitutes a priority for Rwandese Government in Exile, which support the settling of really representative and responsible institutions in Rwanda.
39. The respect of civil and political rights is based on a legislative disposal with "coercitive" means to bannish all impunity and to punish anybody found guilty of any kind of discrimination. In this context, Rwandese Government in Exile recommends to put up on different level of the

administrative structure, observatories for social equity and against discrimination of any kind. These observatories could be managed by "National Council for Reconciliation" competent to appreciate in all skills, all forms of social discrimination.

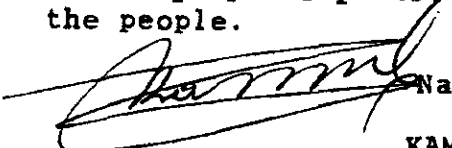
40. The Rwandese Government in Exile considers that the democratic management of the country is one of the ways, may be the most sure to find solution to Rwanda crisis. It is for this reason that it recommends to establish "a National Council for Democratisation" in charge of a permanent monitoring of the democratisation process in Rwanda. The continuation of the democratisation's process is an imperative on which the International community has to continue to bring its contribution. Particullaly, the Rwandese Government in Exile is planning to implement mechanisms which could allow the people to participate in the management of the public affairs.

IV. The reconstruction of the country

41. All the efforts displayed by rwandan people for these thirty last years since the independence have been annihilated by this absurd war. The infrastructures have been quite completely destroyed and the return to a normal life requires all rwandese to contribute without exclusion. Also means have to be found for the reconstruction. In this context, the return of all refugees means rebuilding of national capacities of production and management.
42. The rwandese people could not resolve its problem, particulary economic problems, without regional and international cooperation. Within this scope, the countries of sub-region are called to cooperate actively in the initiative which could bring peace and concord in Rwanda.

V. Final declarations

43. Rwandese Government in exile confirms its option for a peaceful and political solution of rwandese crisis. It refutes categorically and declare meaningless the accusations formulated by some organisations saying that it is getting weapons in order to attack Rwanda.
44. Rwandese Government in exile re-affirms that peace, democratie and human rights cannot pass by the war way. It would like to recall to RPF, which, since October 1990 has choosen the way of guns, that the war calls the war, and violence brings violence, and that the only legitime power is the people's power, given by the people and working for the people.

 Nairobi, 21st July 1995

KAMBANDA Jean
Prime Minister of the Rwandese Government in exile